

Into the Forger's Library: The Genesis of *De natura rerum* in Publication History

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Abstract

One of the most popular writings ascribed to Paracelsus, *De natura rerum* appeared in 1572. That was when the movement of forgery production reached its climax, in parallel with the multiple editions of his genuine work *Archidoxis*. This article aims to place the genesis of *De natura rerum* in the context of publication history. It will first reconstruct a “library” by surveying the works ascribed to Paracelsus which could serve as instruments for the “author/reworker/editor” of *De natura rerum*. Then it will examine the evolution of this forgery production by focusing on the divergent editions of *Archidoxis* from 1569 to 1572.

Keywords

Paracelsus – forgery – alchemy – publication – edition – library – *De natura rerum* – *Archidoxis*

Introduction

A strange treatise, entitled *De natura rerum*, or *On the Nature of Things*, was one of the most popular writings published in the name of Paracelsus.¹ First released in seven books (Basel, 1572) and in nine books (Strasbourg, 1584), it

¹ For the text, see the following editions: Paracelsus, *Bücher und Schriften*, ed. Johannes Huser, 11 vols. (Basel, 1589-1591), 6: 255-362; Paracelsus, *Sämtliche Werke*, 1. Abt., ed. Karl Sudhoff, 14 vols. (Berlin-Munich, 1922-1933) (hereafter: Sudhoff, 1/1, 1/2, etc.), 1/11: 307-403. My warmest thanks go to Clare Hirai, Didier Kahn, Amadeo Murase and Pamela H. Smith for their kind help and comments in the preparation of the present article.

was translated into Latin in seven books (Basel, 1573) and in nine books (Frankfurt, 1605), thus securing a broad readership.²

This treatise is remarkable for its highly operative approach to the natural world, even preceding the works of Francis Bacon (1561-1626). The plethora of ideas expounded in the text occupy an elusive realm between magic and science. Some of them are inspired by the tradition of late-medieval alchemy stemming from the corpus attributed to Raymond Lull (c. 1232-c. 1315).³ Others have more affinity with the genuine teachings of Paracelsus such as the three principles of nature (Salt, Sulphur and Mercury), and nature's internal craftsman called "archeus." Some of the ideas contained in the text attracted the keen attention of many intellectuals of the time; others were severely criticized and subject to religious censorship.⁴

As for the critical reactions of learned physicians, a typical example can be found in Thomas Feyens or Fienus (1567-1631) of Antwerp. Fienus wrote a monograph devoted to the power of imagination in the framework of embryology.⁵ In this treatise, entitled *On the Forces of the Imagination* (Louvain, 1608), he criticized Paracelsus and other "Platonic" authors such as Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525) along with the idea repeated and developed in the first and ninth books of *De natura rerum*. According to this idea, Fienus related, the imagination of pregnant women has a strong and extraordinary power, acting at a distance and imprinting particular images on the fetus in their womb.

2 On the Latin edition of seven books published by Pietro Perna, see Karl Sudhoff, *Bibliographia Paracelsica: Besprechung der unter Hohenheims Namen 1527-1893 erschienenen Druckschriften* (Berlin, 1894), Nr. 145: 243-244. On its translator Georg Forberger (ca. 1543-1604?), see Rudolph Zaunick, *Der sächsische Paracelsist Georg Forberger* (Wiesbaden, 1977); Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle, *Corpus Paracelsisticum: Dokumente frühneuzeitlicher Naturphilosophie in Deutschland*, 3 vols. (Tübingen, 2001-2004 and Berlin, 2013) (hereafter: CP 1, CP 2, CP 3), CP 2: 237-239. The Latin edition of nine books was published in Paracelsus, *Operum medico-chimicorum* (Frankfurt, 1605), 6: 198-271. Cf. Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 269: 466-467.

3 On Lullian alchemy, see Michela Pereira, *The Alchemical Corpus Attributed to Raymond Lull* (London, 1989).

4 See Ernst Darmstaedter, "Paracelsus, *De natura rerum*: Eine kritische Studie," *Janus*, 37 (1933), 1-18, 48-62, 109-115; Sepp Domandl, "Hohenheims *De natura rerum*: Eine Einführung in die geistige Welt des Paracelsus," in *Kunst und Wissenschaft um Paracelsus* (Vienna, 1984), 61-88; Hiro Hirai, *Le concept de semence dans les théories de la matière à la Renaissance: de Marsile Ficin à Pierre Gassendi* (Turnhout, 2005), 210-213.

5 See Thomas Fienus, *De viribus imaginationis tractatus* (Louvain, 1608), 25, 41. For the corresponding parts of *De natura rerum*, see Huser, 6: 260, 333; Sudhoff, 1/11: 314, 377; see also Hiro Hirai, "Imagination, Maternal Desire and Embryology in Thomas Fienus," in Gideon Manning and Cynthia Klestinec, eds., *Professors, Physicians and Practices in the History of Medicine* (Dordrecht, 2017), 211-225.

In its final form, *De natura rerum* is composed of nine books. Each of the first seven books addresses the following themes: 1) generation; 2) growth; 3) preservation; 4) life or vivification; 5) death or mortification; 6) resuscitation; and 7) transmutation. These topics are heavily influenced by the tradition of medieval alchemy and bear a coherent look as a whole. Added in the second edition of 1584, are the last two books, which discuss: 8) separation; and 9) signatures.

In the body of the work, the author of *De natura rerum* refers to Paracelsus' famous writings such as *Archidoxis* and *Chirurgia magna*. Some of the ideas here developed hint at his familiarity with other works by Paracelsus, such as *Astronomia magna* and *De mineralibus*, among genuine writings and the elusive *De imaginibus*. For instance, the first book of *De natura rerum* on the generation of natural things addresses, among other ideas, the production of artificial life or "homunculus." This is a topic developed in *De imaginibus*, albeit in a quite different dimension.⁶ The author's use of the notion of *archeus* also suggests a good knowledge of treatises such as *De mineralibus*.

The style of *De natura rerum* is noticeably "systematic" and "didactic" compared to the genuine writings of Paracelsus. It is therefore reasonable to think that, even if the original core fragments were composed by Paracelsus himself, it was reworked by its editor or another person before its publication. Such was exactly the case with another treatise, entitled *De genealogia mineralium ex Paracelso* (Frankfurt, 1581).⁷ Editing and publishing a series of works by Paracelsus in Latin translation, Flemish physician Gerard Dorn (fl. 1566-1584) reworked the genuine treatise *De mineralibus* so as to attain a more coherent and systematic style under the title of *On the Genealogy of Minerals*.⁸ However,

6 On the idea of homunculus, see William R. Newman, "The Homunculus and His Forebears: Wonders of Art and Nature," in Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi, eds., *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 321-345; idem, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago, IL, 2004), 195-208; Lawrence M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (Chicago, IL, 2013), 131-132; Amadeo Murase, "The Homunculus and the Paracelsian *Liber de imaginibus*," forthcoming in *Ambix*, 67 (2020).

7 This reworked treatise was included in Gerard Dorn, *Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum* (Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel, 1581), 220-277. Cf. Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 186: 324-326. On the publishing activity of Wechel and his collaborators, see Robert J.W. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572-1627* (Oxford, 1975).

8 Dorn renamed this text as *De mineralium œconomia* and published it with his commentary in his *In Theophrasti Paracelsi Auroram philosophorum...* (Frankfurt: [Christoph Rab], 1583). See Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 197: 342-344; CP 2: 906-915. On Dorn, see Didier Kahn, "Les débuts de Gérard Dorn d'après le manuscrit autographe de sa *Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* (1565)," in Joachim Telle, ed., *Analecta Paracelsica: Studien zum*

Dorn notated the work as “from Paracelsus” (*ex Paracelso*) instead of “by Paracelsus” (*Paracelso*) in the title.

In this article my aim is to place the genesis of *De natura rerum* in the context of publication history. It will show the extraordinary flowering of “forgeries” ascribed to the name of Paracelsus. These texts (some were totally invented, others were reworked from genuine fragments) are often endowed with a strong flavor of alchemy and occult philosophy, sometimes straying from the authentic teachings of Paracelsus. Indeed, *De natura rerum* was first presented to readers when this movement of forgery production reached its climax, especially with the multiple editions of Paracelsus’ genuine treatise *Archidoxis*.

In what follows, first in section 1, I will try to reconstruct a “library” by surveying and enumerating the works ascribed to Paracelsus which could serve as crucial instruments for the “author/reworker/editor” of *De natura rerum*. Then in section 2, I will analyze the evolution of this movement of forgery production, by focusing on the divergent editions of *Archidoxis* from 1569 to 1572. In doing so, I will shed new light on the genesis of *De natura rerum* in publication history.

1 Paracelsus’ Works Published Before *De natura rerum*

Which writings of Paracelsus were available for the “author/reworker/editor” of *De natura rerum*, if he was not Paracelsus himself and if he did not have easy access to the manuscripts of the works attributed to this name? Let us enumerate and examine in chronological order of publication the major works, which address the related themes discussed in *De natura rerum* or which show some connections and resemblance with them.

The treatise entitled *Labyrinthus medicorum errantium* (Nuremberg: Valentin Neuber, 1553) was one of the most important genuine works of Paracelsus, dating from his mature period around 1537/38.⁹ It is significant that it was published very early, even predating the beginning of the “Paracelsian revival” movement of the 1560s, animated by the early and fervent German followers of the Swiss physician such as Adam von Bodenstein (1528-1577) and Michael Toxites (1514-1581).¹⁰

Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit (Stuttgart, 1994), 59-126.

9 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 30: 45-47. Cf. Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 204-205.

10 On the Paracelsian revival movement, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1941), 5: 617-651; Didier Kahn, *Alchimie et paracelsisme en*

The next treatise, widely known as *De vita longa* (Basel: s. n., 1560), was one of the most popular works published in the early phase of the Paracelsian revival movement.¹¹ It was edited in Latin by Bodenstein, first in the form of four books and then, in 1562, in five books, from the manuscript of Paracelsus' former secretary, Johannes Oporinus (1507-1568). This treatise was dated 1527, which places its composition during Paracelsus' short and notorious career at the University of Basel (spring 1527-1528). The second edition was released by the Basel publisher Pietro Perna (1519-1582).¹²

The treatise entitled *Opus paramirum* (Mülhausen: Peter Schmidt, 1562) was edited in the form of two books by Bodenstein and is generally regarded as the principal work of Paracelsus' middle career, composed around 1531. Bodenstein also edited another popular work, *Von ersten dreyen Principiis* (Basel: s. n., 1563), on the famous theory of the "three principles" (*tria prima*) of nature: Salt, Sulphur and Mercury.¹³

The treatise entitled *Philosophia ad Athenienses* (Köln: Arnold Birckmann's heirs, 1564) was the earliest major printed forgery. Although it contains some striking ideas such as uncreated prime matter, contradictory to Paracelsus' genuine teachings, it exerted a considerable influence on the cosmogony and cosmology of the Paracelsians in the late sixteenth century and beyond.¹⁴

The genuine manifesto of Paracelsus' new medicine, *Paragranum* (Frankfurt: Christian Egenolff's heirs, 1565), was edited by Bodenstein. Paracelsus developed his new medicine by writing this treatise around 1530 after his bitter experience, failure and public humiliation at the University of Basel. In this work he established the four pillars of medicine: philosophy, astronomy, alchemy and ethics. Thus, his new chymical medicine was a terrestrial astronomy endowed with philosophy and ethics.¹⁵

France à la fin de la Renaissance (1567-1625) (Geneva, 2007), 100-121. On Bodenstein, see CP 1: 104-110. On Toxites, see CP 2: 41-66; Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Humanistische Verskunst im Dienste des Paracelsismus: Zu einem programmatischen Lehrgedicht des Michael Toxites (1514-1581)," *Etudes germaniques*, 50 (1995), 509-526.

11 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 39: 60-61 and Nr. 46: 70-72; CP 1: 105-146, 203-265.

12 On the date 1527, see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, 392. On Oporinus, see Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr., *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden, 2011), 270-273. On Perna, see Antonio Rotondò, *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Turin, 1974), 273-391; CP 2: 729-733, 745-747.

13 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 47: 72-74; CP 1: 266-285; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 199-201. On *Von ersten dreyen Principiis*, see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 56: 84-85; CP 1: 324-338.

14 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 65: 101-104; Walter Pagel, "The Prime Matter of Paracelsus," *Ambix*, 9 (1961), 117-135; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 213-214; Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*, 309-314.

15 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 66: 104-105; CP 1: 372-386; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 197-199.

The next two treatises, *De causa et origine morborum* and *De morbis invisibilibus* (Köln: Arnold Birckmann's heirs, 1565), were to be intimately connected to the major work of Paracelsus, *Opus paramirum*. They are all considered to have been composed around the same period. Birckmann's press became more and more important for the Paracelsian revival movement with the publication of these genuine writings.¹⁶ In the following year, they went further, publishing *Das Buch Meteororum* and *De matrice* (1566). Closely related to *Opus paramirum* in terms of origin and contents, both of these treatises are genuine works of Paracelsus. They are crucial to understand his cosmogony based on a particular interpretation of the Biblical creation story of *Genesis*.¹⁷

The second major forgery in this list, *Liber vexationum* (Basel: Samuel Apia-rius, 1567), also called *De vexatione*, was edited by Bodenstein. The word "vexation" meant a chymical process of "fixation," which suggests the affinity of this work with the medieval tradition of transmutational alchemy. Thus, it was to be suggestively renamed as *Coelum philosophorum* in the monumental edition of Paracelsus' works edited by Johannes Huser (ca. 1545-1600/1) in 1590 and became more popular than ever. Although Huser himself regarded it as genuine, the modern editor Karl Sudhoff (1853-1938) rejected its authenticity by placing it among "spuria" or doubtful writings. Under the fascinating title of *Pyrophilia vexationumque liber*, the Latin translation of this treatise was executed by Gerard Dorn for Pietro Perna's press in Basel in the following year, 1568.¹⁸

16 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 70: 111-113. On *Opus paramirum* and related treatises along with a criticism on Sudhoff's editorial choice, see Udo Benzenhöfer, *Paracelsus* (Hamburg, 2002), 88-90. On the Birckmann press, see Leo Norpoth, "Kölner Paracelsismus in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 27 (1953), 133-144; CP 1: 656-660; Diethelm Eikermann, "Köln im Jahr 1596 und Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn (1531-1596)," *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 81 (2011-2012), 85-126, on 103-107.

17 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 73: 115; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 201-204, 208-210. On the chymical interpretation of Genesis, see Michael T. Walton, "Genesis and Chemistry in the Sixteenth Century," in Allen G. Debus and Michael T. Walton, eds., *Reading the Book of Nature: The Other Side of the Scientific Revolution* (Kirksville, MO, 1998), 1-14; Didier Kahn, "L'interprétation alchimique de la Genèse chez Joseph Du Chesne dans le contexte de ses doctrines alchimiques et cosmologiques," in Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer, ed., *Scientiae et artes: Die Vermittlung alten und neuen Wissens in Literatur, Kunst und Musik* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 641-692; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, passim.

18 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 90: 143-144. Cf. CP 3: 329, 708. For the text of *Liber vexationum*, see Huser, 6: 375-395; Sudhoff, 1/14: 405-420. On *Coelum philosophorum*, see also Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 221: 389-395, on 393. On Huser, see Joachim Telle, "Johann Huser in seinen Briefen: Zum schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert," in idem, ed., *Parerga Paracelsica: Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1991), 159-248. On

One of the most famous treatises of a chymical nature by Paracelsus, *Archidoxae libri x* (Cracow: Matthias Wirzbieta, 1569) was first edited in Latin by the Silesian physician Adam Schröter (ca. 1525-ca. 1572). Its German edition immediately followed from Perna's press in Basel under the title of *10 Bücher Archidoxorum* (1570).¹⁹ I will return to these texts more fully in the next section.

In 1570 Toxites in his turn edited a collection of Paracelsus' writings, entitled *Several Treatises (Ettliche Tractatus)*, including two works *Von den natürlichen Dingen* and *De mineralibus* (Strasbourg: Christian Müller's heirs, 1570). Reprinted in 1582, 1587 and 1597, this collection provided topics related to natural bodies such as plants, minerals and metals.²⁰ This could serve as a fundamental instrument to the "author/reworker/editor" of *De natura rerum*. Each of the seventeen chapters of *Von den natürlichen Dingen* is devoted to one particular medicinal material such as turpentine, coral and magnet. By contrast, placing the formation of mineral substances in the context of the world creation, *De mineralibus* is highly important to an understanding of Paracelsus' cosmology and cosmogony along with the famous theory of the three principles (Salt, Sulphur and Mercury). It also features the idea of *archeus*, which was a favorite idea of the "author/reworker/editor" of *De natura rerum*.²¹

The treatise entitled *Astronomia magna* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Feyrabend, 1571) was the major product of Paracelsus' mature period.²² This massive treatise is a crucial piece for the ninth book of *De natura rerum*, which was added in its second edition of 1584. Advanced in this work was the highly unusual understanding of "chiromancy," not as a divinatory reading of the human palm but as an overall science of lines, wrinkles and figures.²³

Dorn's Latin translation, see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 101: 160-162. On fixation in chymistry, see Principe, *Secrets of Alchemy*, 152.

19 For Schröter's Latin edition, see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 108: 170-174; CP 3: 95-174. For Perna's German edition, see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 116: 183-186. On the contents of *Archidoxis*, see the next section below.

20 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 120: 196-198; Nr. 192: 334-335; Nr. 214: 365; Nr. 241: 423. On *De mineralibus*, see Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 183-195.

21 For the notion of *archeus*, see Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel, 1958), 104-112; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 190, 200, 204-205, 212.

22 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 131: 219-221; CP 2: 208-231.

23 On Paracelsus's chiromancy, see Karl Möseneder, *Paracelsus und die Bilder: Über Glauben, Magie und Astrologie im Reformationszeitalter* (Berlin, 2009), 122-130, 176-179. On the medieval tradition of chiromancy, see Lynn Thorndike, "Chiromancy in Medieval Manuscripts," *Speculum*, 40 (1965), 674-706; Charles Burnett, "The Principal Latin Texts on Chiromancy Extant in the Middle Ages," in idem, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages*

After the publication of all these writings, Bodenstein produced a new collection of Paracelsus' works. Humanistically and symbolically entitled *Metamorphosis* (Basel: Samuel Apiarius, 1572), it contains eleven books as its first part, followed by two more books as its second part (fig. 1).

The first seven books of *Metamorphosis* are grouped under the title of *Von natürlichen Dingen*. Confusingly, this is not the same treatise as the one Toxites published under a similar title two years before in 1570. That was most probably why its title was changed to *De natura rerum* for its second edition in 1584, following the Latin translation of 1573. Strangely enough, the collection has no eighth book but contains *De cementis* as the ninth book, *De gradationibus* as the tenth, and *De projectionibus* as the eleventh (although the latter was said to be unwritten) so as to finish the first part of the collection.²⁴ Both Huser and Sudhoff regarded *De cementis* and *De gradationibus* to be genuine.

As for the second part, it includes *Manual vom Stein der Weisen* and *Alchimia vom einfachen Fewr*. Later, in the 1605 posthumous publication, Huser retained the first piece as genuine but doubted the authenticity of the second, placing it among a series of spurious works in "Appendix" to his collection of Paracelsus' surgical works.²⁵ Seen in its original setting, along with its suggestive title of *Metamorphosis*, Bodenstein's editorial and marketing strategy can be grasped without difficulty. There is no doubt that, with the similarity of the title, he was invoking the famous *Metamorphoses* by the Roman poet Ovid, to connect the notion of transmutational alchemy in a humanistic mind just as Giovanni Aurelio Augurello (1441-1524) tried to establish in his famous *Chrysopoeia* (Venice, 1515).²⁶ As explained earlier, the theme for the seventh book of *De natura rerum* was "transmutation"; what we find are well-known and ordinary chymical operations such as calcination, sublimation, solution, putrefaction, distillation and coagulation. However, most readers would expect the

(Aldershot, 1991), 1-29; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XI^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris, 2006), 336-340.

24 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 137: 229-231; CP 1: 481-484; CP 3: 266-278. For the text of *De cementis* and *De gradationibus*, see respectively Huser, 6: 402-410, 411-417; Sudhoff, 1/3: 65-79, 81-88. They were first published with *Archidoxis* in Latin (1570) and in German (1571), both from Perna's press. See my discussion in the next section.

25 For the text of *Manual*, see Huser, 6: 421-436; Sudhoff, 1/14: 421-432. Cf. CP 3: 708. For the text of *Alchimia*, see Huser's posthumous edition of Paracelsus, *Chirurgische Bücher und Schriften* (Strasbourg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1605), Appendix: 71-77. Cf. Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 267: 462-464.

26 Zweder R.W.M. Van Martels, "Augurello's *Chrysopoeia* (1515): A Turning Point in the Literary Tradition of Alchemical Texts," *Early Science and Medicine*, 5 (2000), 178-195; Hirai, *Le concept de semence*, 62-66; Principe, *Secrets of Alchemy*, 180.

**Innhalt dises gantzen
Wercks.**

I.	Das erst buch de rebus naturalibus tractirt die Herkunfft / vrsach vñ gebure natürlicher dingen.
II.	Von gewächsen.
III.	Wie die geschöpff in irer natürlichen krafft vnd stercke erhalten werden.
III.	Was das leben in jnen sey.
V.	Wardurch jnen der todt züfelle.
VI.	Dz die gewächs/minieren/metallen vñ etliche thier so getödt sind / widerum ins leben gebracht mögen werden.
VII.	Von verenderung der gestalten durch allerley mittel / den Alchimisten vnd Medicis dienstlich.
IX.	Wie die minderen metallen vnd mineren in die mehrern vñnd höherem gebracht vergstaltet in substantia vnd virtute werde durch cimentierung.
X.	Das die metallen auch durch distillirte wasser / so auß mineren / könig vñ anderen vergleichen / durch den vñl canübereitet zü einem liquor / transmutiert werden.
Das Manual / so tractiert	
I.	Vom stein der weisen arzt: was er sey sampt seiner preparation.
Alchimia / sagt	
II.	Vom stein der weisen philosophis sampt allen seinen zugehörden.

FIGURE 1
Paracelsus,
Metamorphosis, ed.
Adam von
Bodenstein (1572),
table of contents.
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-
bsb00015387-9
MUNICH,
BAYERISCHE
STAATSBIBLIOTHEK:
Alch. 206 e#Beibd.2

further description of higher and advanced operations for the real transmutation of metals. That was what Bodenstein tried to offer by gathering the pieces on “cementation,” “gradation” and “projection,” along with the “manual” for the philosopher’s stone.

To make the situation more complex, this collection contains a dedication letter by Paracelsus to a certain Johann Winckelsteiner in Freiburg. The letter mentions a treatise entitled *De natura rerum* divided into “nine parts” (*neun theil*). It was signed in Villach, Southern Austria, in 1537. However, Paracelsus

is not known to have been there in that year. More interestingly, the archival records of Freiburg im Breisgau do not support the existence of this mysterious Winckelsteiner, suggesting that the letter is probably a forgery.²⁷

Finally, the second edition of *De natura rerum* (Strasbourg: Bernhard Jobin, 1584) appeared with the addition of the eighth book on “separation” and the ninth book on “natural signs.” This edition has no other additional material. Although its editor, Lucas Bathodius (fl. 1584-1597?), is relatively less known, his editorial intention can be easily discerned.²⁸ He avoided incorporating doubtful materials. This was in diametric opposition to the approach taken by Bodenstein who tried to present this work as the “theoretical preparation” of transmutational alchemy.

The conception of “natural signs” expounded in the ninth book of *De natura rerum* largely differs from the traditional line developed, for example, in the famous *Phytognomonica* (Naples, 1588) by Giambattista della Porta (ca. 1535-1615). Della Porta built his treatise on the basis of ideas advanced by ancient classical authors such as Dioscorides and Pliny.²⁹ By contrast, the main line of argument on natural signs in the ninth book of *De natura rerum* could be elaborated thanks to the preceding publication of *Astronomia magna*.

2 *Archidoxis* and the Flowering of Forgeries

Now let us return to *Archidoxis*, as seen in its publication history. Indeed, it is necessary to take a closer look at its evolution so as to contextualize the genesis of *De natura rerum* and its first edition in Bodenstein's collection *Metamorphosis* within the flowering of forgeries ascribed to the name of Paracelsus.

Before going into the detail of its publication history, let us take a quick look at the title and structure of *Archidoxis* according to the major collected works of Paracelsus. First, in the monumental edition of ten quarto volumes, its editor Johannes Huser included *Archidoxis* at the head of the sixth volume (1590) for writings dealing with the “spagyric preparation of natural things.”³⁰ He

27 *Metamorphosis* (Basel, 1572), sig. B[i] r-biii r. See CP 3 : 269, 276, 278.

28 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 199: 345-346; CP 3: 757-772. On Bathodius, see also Telle, “Huser in seinen Briefen,” 200-201.

29 Giambattista della Porta, *Phytognomonica* (Naples, 1588). See Hiro Hirai, “Images, Talismans and Medicine in Gaffarel's *Curiositez inouyes*,” in idem, ed., *Jacques Gaffarel between Magic and Science* (Rome, 2014), 73-84; Hiro Hirai and Yohei Kikuchihara, “*Signatura Rerum* Theory,” in Marco Sgarbi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy* (Dordrecht, 2015).

30 For the text, see Huser, 6: 1-98. On the chymical contents of *Archidoxis*, see Ernst Darms-taetter, *Arznei und Alchemie: Paracelsusstudien* (Leipzig, 1931); Reijer Hooykaas, “Die

entitled the treatise *Ten Books of Archidoxis on the Mysteries of Nature* (*Decem libri Archidoxis de mysteriis naturae*). However, immediately after his introductory warning to readers, Huser provided the table of contents with the following title: *The First Part of Archidoxis, Nine Books on the Mysteries of Nature* (*Archidoxis pars prima, novem libri de mysteriis naturae*). This confusion between ten and nine books reflected the complex publication history of the treatise, which will be examined in the present section. In any event, the table tells us that the body of *Archidoxis* consists of nine books:

- Book 1, *De mysteriis microcosmi*
- Book 2, *De mysteriis elementorum*
- Book 3, *De mysteriis quintae essentiae*
- Book 4, *De mysteriis arcani*
- Book 5, *De mysteriis extractionum*
- Book 6, *De mysteriis specificorum*
- Book 7, *De mysteriis elixir*
- Book 8, *De mysteriis externis*
- Book 9, *De praxi, sed non est impressus*

According to the table, the ninth book is said to be “unprinted” (*non est impressus*). Thus, the treatise actually has only eight books. To make the situation more complex, Huser printed these components and titles in the following order, leaving the second book as missing:

- Book 1, *De prologo et microcosmo*
- [Book 2, left blank with some explanation]
- Book 3, *De separationibus elementorum*
- Book 4, *De quinta essentia*
- Book 5, *De arcanis*
- Book 6, *De magisteriis*
- Book 7, *De specificis*
- Book 8, *De elixiriis*
- Book 9, *De extrinsecis*³¹

In his edition of Paracelsus' works, Sudhoff included *Archidoxis* in the third volume for the writings composed around 1525/26 according to his reckoning

Elementenlehre des Paracelsus,” *Janus*, 39 (1935), 175-187; T.P. Sherlock, “The Chemical Work of Paracelsus,” *Ambix*, 3 (1948), 33-63, on 43-62.

31 Huser, 6: sig. [a 6 iiij] v.

of dates of composition.³² Following Huser, he called the treatise *Decem libri Archidoxis de mysteriis naturae*, also adopting his forerunner's choice for the ordering and titles of its components. Thus, Sudhoff's edition, which became standard for modern studies on Paracelsus, consolidated the view in which the second book of *Archidoxis* is considered to be "missing," while the tenth book is left as "unprinted" or missing. This aligned perfectly with the manuscript evidence observed by Huser.

Having established this traditional structure of the treatise, let us now penetrate into the complex story of its publication history. As has been observed in the previous section, the first Latin edition of *Archidoxis* was published in Cracow (1569). Its editor Adam Schröter claimed to have translated it from German. The title *Archidoxae libri x* suggests that it should contain ten books. But Schröter argued that only eight books were extant, and he placed them in the following order: 1) microcosm; 2) elements; 3) quintessence; 4) arcana; 5) magisters; 6) specifics; 7) elixirs; and 8) extrinsics. To remedy the lacuna, Schröter followed his base manuscript, which had been directly copied from Paracelsus' autograph, and added two short treatises: *De renovatione et restauratione* and *De vita longa*.

This is the first appearance of both treatises.³³ The *De vita longa* presented here is short and different from the treatise by the same title in the five books edited by Bodenstein in the early phase of the Paracelsian revival movement. To avoid potential confusion, Sudhoff called the shorter one *Vom langen Leben* in his edition of Paracelsus' works. In any event, these two treatises, *De renovatione* and *De vita longa*, were the early productions of Paracelsus and very closely related to each other. Since *Archidoxis* was also a composition of the Swiss physician's early career, their style and contents bear a strong resemblance. Thus, Schröter's editorial choice could be accepted by readers without major contestation. Note that the main scope of *Archidoxis* is more chymical and pharmacological than *De renovatione* and *De vita longa* which concern rather regimen and longevity.

32 For the text, see Sudhoff, 1/3: 86-200.

33 For the text of *De renovatione*, see Huser, 6: 100-114; Sudhoff, 1/3: 201-220. For the text of *De vita longa* in one book, see Huser, 6: 115-136; Sudhoff, 1/3: 221-245. On both treatises, see also Didier Kahn, "Quintessence and the Prolongation of Life in the Works of Paracelsus," *Micrologus*, 26 (2018), 183-225. Jan Baptista Van Helmont (1579-1644) established his theory of "alkahest" upon the idea of "sal circulatum" mentioned in *De renovatione*. Cf. Huser, 6: 113; Sudhoff, 1/3: 218; see also Bernard Joly, "L'alkahest, dissolvant universel ou quand la théorie rend pensable une pratique impossible," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 49 (1996), 305-344, on 318; Paulo A. Porto, "Summus atque felicissimus salium: The Medical Relevance of the *Liquor alkahest*," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76 (2002), 1-29, on 11.

In the next year, 1570, Perna's press in Basel published the first German edition, entitled *Archidoxorum [...] x Bücher*.³⁴ Although its title announces ten books, it contains only nine. Perna followed Schröter's choice to include *De renovatione* and *De vita longa*. But he inserted the former in the place of the first text on microcosm, which is in turn placed at the head of the whole treatise as a preface: [o]) microcosm; 1) *De renovatione*; 2) elements; 3) quintessences; 4) arcana; 5) magisters; 6) specifics; 7) elixirs; 8) extrinsics; and 9) *De vita longa*. Reflecting this ordering, Perna spelled out "mysterio microcosmi" in Latin on the title-page and warned readers to take it as the first of ten books: *Archidoxorum [...] x Bücher Mysterio Microcosmi für das erste Buch gerechnet*. His editorial choice is striking.

With the first Latin edition and Perna's German edition, perhaps also boosted by the interesting topic of longevity offered by *De vita longa*, the popularity of *Archidoxis* in the book market reached an unimaginable height. In the same year of 1570, two editions were published in Basel, two others in Munich, one in Strasbourg and the other in Köln. As one of these six German editions was executed in the same format by Perna himself, let us set those two editions aside and examine the evolution of the other four.³⁵

One German edition was edited by Toxites and printed by Theodosius Rihel (fl. 1555-1608) of Strasbourg.³⁶ Apparently, this edition did not follow Perna's choice of placing the text on microcosm as a preface, but reverted back to Schröter's ordering as follows: 1) microcosm; 2) elements; 3) quintessences; 4) arcana; 5) magisters or extractions; 6) specifics; 7) elixirs and 8) externals; 9) *De renovatione*; and 10) *De vita longa*. More interestingly in terms of marketing, Toxites presented *Archidoxa 10 Bücher* as the first part of his collection. He thus added two more items, *De tinctura physicorum* as its second part and *De occulta philosophia* as its third. This is the first appearance of both of these treatises. Although Huser took them to be genuine, Sudhoff placed them among forgeries.³⁷ Thus, this edition by Toxites provided an interesting twist to the evolution of the *Archidoxis* publication.

34 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 116: 183-186.

35 For the second German edition of Perna, see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 117: 186-187.

36 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 118: 187-190; see also CP 2: 162, 415, 490. On Rihel, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 28 (Leipzig, 1889), 429-430.

37 On the text of *De tinctura physicorum* and *De occulta philosophia*, see respectively Huser, 6: 363-374; idem, 9: 329-368; and Sudhoff, 1/14: 391-399, 513-542. On the reception of *De tinctura physicorum*, see CP 2: 319-320, 1009-1010; CP 3: 276, 714. At the conference on Pseudo-Paracelsus at Villa Vigoni, Italy (25-28 July 2016), Amadeo Murase and Kathrin Pfister delivered their analysis of this text. As for *De occulta philosophia*, see CP 2: 490-491, 1008; CP 3: 52-56, 61-63, 93-94.

Another German edition, prepared by Johannes Albertus Wimpinaeus or Johann Albrecht (ca. 1540–after 1570) of Wimpfen, was published from Adam Berg’s press in Munich.³⁸ Albrecht entitled it *Archidoxorum libri IX*, naming the ninth book as “praxis” but “unwritten” (*non est scriptus*). Its structure is as follows: 1) microcosm; 2) elements; 3) quintessences; 4) arcana; 5) magisters or extractions; 6) specifics; 7) elixirs; 8) externals; and 9) praxis [missing]. Thus, this edition has only eight books. But most probably adopting the editorial choice of his forerunner Toxites, Albrecht presented this set as the first part of his collection, followed by the second part with four other treatises: *Praeparationes*; *De tinctura physicorum*; *De renovatione*; and *De vita longa*. The first item, *Praeparationes*, is a collection of recipes and had already been edited by Bodenstein and published in Strasbourg (1569).³⁹ Both Huser and Sudhoff classified it as an early work related to *De renovatione* and *De vita longa*. By contrast, *De tinctura physicorum* is a clear forgery of alchemical nature.

Moreover, the press of Adam Berg issued another German edition under the striking title of *Archidoxa 12 Bücher* in the same year. Its structure is as follows: 1) microcosm; 2) [missing]; 3) elements; 4) quintessences; 5) arcana; 6) magisters or extractions; 7) specifics; 8) elixirs; and 9) externals. It also contains four other supplementary materials, which are the same as those of his former edition.⁴⁰ Thus the unusual number of “twelve” in the title resulted from the combination of eight extant books and four supplements.

Lastly, *Archidoxorum libri IX* in German was issued from the active and important press of Arnold Birckmann’s heirs in Köln. Significantly enough, it bears the suggestive overarching title in Latin, *De mysteriis naturae*, that is, *On the Mysteries of Nature*.⁴¹ As the first part of the collection, it includes eight books: 1) microcosm; 2) [missing]; 3) elements; 4) quintessences; 5) arcana; 6) magisters; 7) specifics; 8) elixirs; and 9) extrinsics. It is followed by two familiar treatises, *De renovatione* and *De vita longa*, as the second part of the collection. Further supplementary materials of a genuine nature are added to this set of texts: *De mineralibus* and short texts on salts, vitriol, arsenic and sulphur extracted from *Von den natürlichen Dingen*. These two components are taken

38 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 119: 190–196. On Albrecht, see Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* (New York, 1977), 135–139; CP 2: 964–1017.

39 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 104: 164–165; CP 1: 445–451. The text of *Praeparationes* immediately follows *Archidoxis*, *De renovatione* and *De vita longa* in Huser, 6: 212–252; Sudhoff, 1/3: 309–359. For a pharmacological study of its contents, see Wolfgang Schneider, “Über den *Liber praeparationum* des Paracelsus,” in idem, *Mein Umgang mit Paracelsus und Paracelsisten* (Frankfurt, 1982), 99–106.

40 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 129: 215–217.

41 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 121: 198–203.

from *Several Treatises* (*Ettliche Tractatus*) edited by Toxites in Strasbourg in the same year of 1570, as is mentioned in the previous section.⁴² Thus, this edition by the Birckmann press emphasized a mineralogical dimension along with regimen and longevity, relying exclusively on the genuine texts of Paracelsus.

All these editions prove the unusually high expectation of German readers vis-a-vis *Archidoxis*. The Basel publisher Pietro Perna did not miss this commercial opportunity in the international book market. His collaborator Gerard Dorn prepared for him the second Latin edition as the *Archidoxorum libri x* or *On the Secret Mysteries of Nature* (*De secretis naturae mysteriis*) in 1570 (fig. 2).⁴³

On this occasion the duo of Perna and Dorn corrected their initial error by placing the text on microcosm as the first book so as to make ten books, as the title announced: 1) microcosm; 2) *De renovatione*; 3) elements; 4) quintessences; 5) arcana; 6) magisters; 7) specifics; 8) elixirs; 9) extrinsics; and 10) *De vita longa*. In this Latin edition, *Archidoxis* is followed by the second part which comprises: *De tinctura physicorum*, *Praeparationes*, *De vexatione*, *De cementis metallorum* and *De gradationibus metallorum*. Although the treatments of regimen and longevity are kept with the inclusion of *De renovatione* and *De vita longa*, greater emphasis is given to the dimension of transmutational alchemy by the supplementary materials, some of which are clear forgeries such as *De tinctura physicorum* and *De vexatione*.

The appeal generated by the inclusion of the fake texts, attributed to Paracelsus and of a strong alchemical flavor, encouraged the Perna-Dorn duo to produce an exclusive collection of such texts in Latin for the international market. Suggestively entitled *Three Books on the Supreme Mysteries of Nature* (*De summis naturae mysteriis libri tres*), this collection was published in the same year of 1570.⁴⁴ It includes *De spiritibus planetarum*, which Huser considered to be a forgery, followed by *De occulta philosophia* and *De signis zodiaci*. Remarkably enough, the last item addresses the production of talismans and was to form the first half of the notorious *Archidoxis magica*.⁴⁵ Both Huser

42 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 120: 196-198. For these texts on salts, vitriol, arsenic and sulphur, see respectively Huser, 7: 141-152, 183-200, 201-209, 163-182; Sudhoff, 1/2: 98-110, 146-165, 166-175, 124-145.

43 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 123: 205-207.

44 Ps.-Paracelsus, *De summis naturae mysteriis libri tres* (Basel: Pietro Perna, 1570). Cf. Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 125: 209-211.

45 For the text of *De signis zodiaci*, which is the first three books of *Archidoxis magica*, see Huser, 10: Appendix, 67-106; Sudhoff, 1/14: 437-478. On talismans in the Renaissance in general, see Daniel P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London, 1958); Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, *Astrologisch-magische Theorie und Praxis in der Heilkunde der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1985); Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les images*

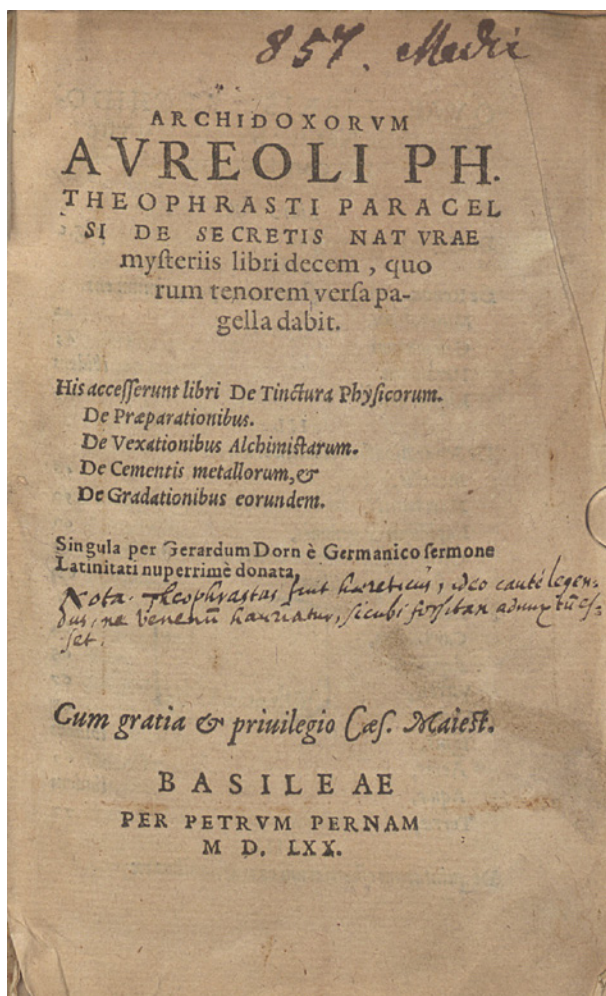


FIGURE 2

Paracelsus, *Archidoxorum* [...] *libri decem*, trans. Gerhard Dorn (1570), title-page. The early modern handwritten inscription reads: "Nota. Theophrastus fuit hæreticus, ideo caute legendus, ne venenum hauriatur, sicubi forsitan admixtum esset" ("Notice: Theophrastus was a heretic. Therefore he must be cautiously read, so that the poison did not spread if it happened to be mixed with anything.") urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00034166-8 MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK: Alch. 206 d

and Sudhoff rejected it as inauthentic. As has been seen above, *De occulta philosophia* was first published as the appendix of *Archidoxis* by Rihel of Strasbourg in the same year, while this is the first appearance of *De signis zodiaci*. As for the short treatise *De spiritibus planetarum*, it was also called *De spiritibus metallorum* in several collections of Paracelsus' works. It turns out to be a translation of *Alchimia*, the German version of which was also included later in Bodenstein's collection *Metamorphosis*.

astrologiques au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques, XII^e-XV^e siècle (Paris, 2002); Hirai, "Images, Talismans and Medicine."

This exclusive collection in Latin of an alchemical and occultist aspect likely won commercial success in the international book market. Perna thus decided to produce a larger collection of the same sort in German in the following year, 1571. It consists of the texts which had already been published. Endowed with a strong flavor of transmutational alchemy and occult philosophy, it includes *De spiritibus planetarum*, *De tinctura physicorum*, *De gradationibus*, *De cementis* and *De signis zodiaci*.⁴⁶

Upon the success of these collections, it is easy to imagine the motivation of the Perna-Dorn duo to provide a fully enhanced edition of *Archidoxis* the following year (fig. 3).⁴⁷

On its title-page, they explicitly announced that “new materials” had been added. These new texts are *De tempore*, *De imaginibus* and *Archidoxis magica*. Among them, *De tempore* is only the first item of the five short tracts which comprise *Five Treatises of Philosophy* (*Philosophiae tractatus quinque*). Here it is actually followed by the other four. Along with this set of five tracts, Huser and Sudhoff accepted *De imaginibus* as a genuine work of an uncertain date.⁴⁸ The first appearance of this elusive treatise is of great interest since it develops a remarkable discussion on the production of homunculi. That is the very subject developed in the first book of *De natura rerum* in a different, but no less impressive manner. It is remarkable that these two treatises, *De imaginibus* and *De natura rerum*, were published for the first time in the same town of Basel in the same year of 1572.

As for *Archidoxis magica*, this collection by the Perna-Dorn duo includes its later part: *De compositione metallorum* as Book 6, *De speculi constellatione* as Book 5 and *De sigillis planetarum* as Book 7. Dealing with the production of talismans and with astrological images engraved on stones and minerals, it is highly doubtful that these texts are genuine works by Paracelsus.⁴⁹

46 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 134: 224-226. For the German version of *De spiritibus planetarum*, see Huser's edition of Paracelsus, *Chirurgische Bücher*, Appendix: 71-77. Sudhoff's edition does not contain this text.

47 Sudhoff, *Bibliographia*, Nr. 142: 239-241.

48 For the text of *Philosophiae tractatus quinque*, see Huser, 9: 398-413; Sudhoff, 1/13: 335-358. For the text of *De imaginibus*, see Huser, 9: 369-393; Sudhoff, 1/13: 359-386. I have benefited from the learned Japanese translation of *De imaginibus* by Amadeo Murase, published in Shunichi Ikegami, ed., *Renaissance Natural Philosophy* (Tokyo, 2017), 1: 555-578; see also Möseneder, *Paracelsus und die Bilder*, 71-162.

49 For the text of these three books of *Archidoxis magica*, see Huser, 10: Appendix, 115-138; Sudhoff, 1/14: 479-498; see also Wolfgang Schneider, “Paracelsus, Autor der *Archidoxis Magica*?” in idem, *Mein Umgang*, 107-120. To place this text in its context, it is necessary to execute a rigid philological comparison of its contents, for example, with those of *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Köln, 1533) by Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535). Cf. Karl

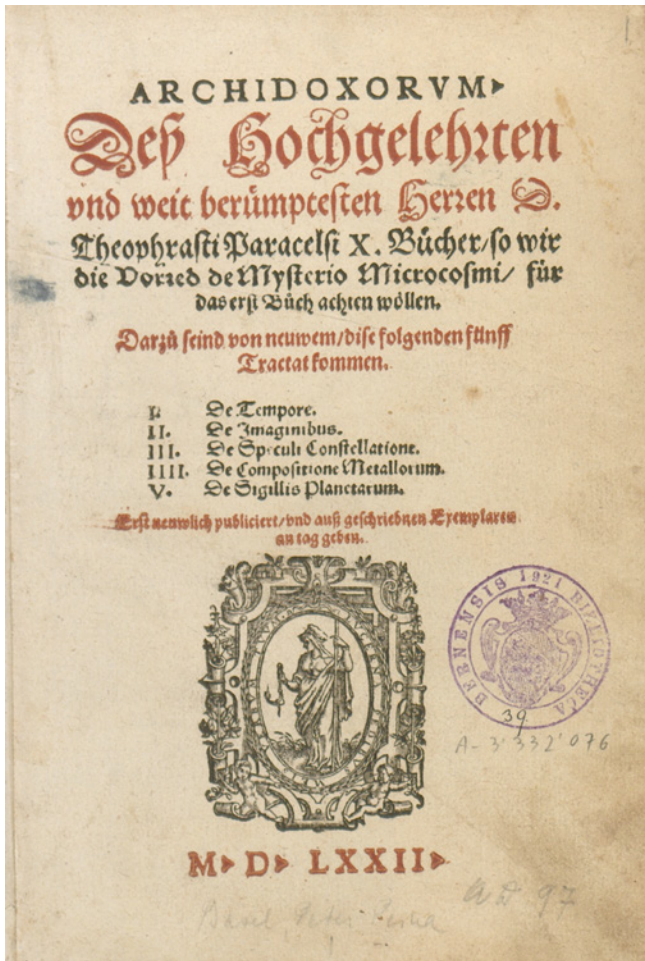


FIGURE 3
Paracelsus,
Archidoxorum [...] x. Bücher, ed. Pietro Perna (1572), title-page.
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Conclusion

Now it is possible to locate the genesis of Bodenstein's collection *Metamorphosis* in the context of its own publication history. This collection of 1572 included the first edition of *De natura rerum* at its head, followed by the texts which shared a strong inclination toward transmutational alchemy such as *De cementis*, *De gradationibus*, *De projectionibus* and *Alchimia*.

Anton Nowotny, "The Construction of Certain Seals and Characters in the Work of Agrippa of Nettesheim," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 12 (1949), 46-57; Hirai, "Images, Talismans and Medicine."

Although *Archidoxis*, one of the most successful works by Paracelsus, announced ten books in its title, two books were apparently missing in its manuscript. During the evolution of its multiple publications, the editors of *Archidoxis* tried to compensate for its missing parts by complementing diverse texts of an affinitive nature. This genuine work of Paracelsus first appeared in 1569 with its emphasis on regimen and longevity by way of its supplementary materials, namely *De renovatione et restauratione* and *De vita longa*. Then, it gradually absorbed different texts endowed with a dimension of transmutational alchemy as its supplements. More and more works of doubtful nature and origin such as *De tinctura physicorum*, *De occulta philosophia*, *De spiritibus planetarum*, *De vexatione* and *De signis zodiaci* were put together. This tendency, initiated by Toxites and the Strasbourg publisher Rihel, was, however, most enthusiastically pursued by the duo of Pietro Perna and Gerard Dorn, based in Basel. The result was their production of a collection of dubious works and forgeries of an alchemical character in Latin, under the title of *Three Books on the Supreme Mysteries of Nature* (1570) and a larger collection of the same spirit in German (1571). Then the Perna-Dorn duo released the fully enhanced edition of *Archidoxis* in 1572, completely in line with these productions with a strong flavor of transmutational alchemy and occult philosophy.

At the climax of this movement, in the same town of Basel in the same year of 1572, appeared Bodenstein's collection, endowed with a humanistically and alchemically suggestive title of *Metamorphosis*. In this collection *De natura rerum* played the crucial role of providing the "theoretical basis" for those alchemical forgeries. It is worth remembering that Bodenstein was already involved in the edition of an extremely popular fake text *De vexatione* (1567), also renamed *Coelum philosophorum*. Leaving *Philosophia ad Athenienses* (1564) aside, this treatise of a manifestly alchemical intent was the first major forgery attributed to the name Paracelsus.

It is probable that very few readers of the time, except those like Johannes Huser who had access to the manuscripts of Paracelsus and who carefully studied them, were able to distinguish between the genuine and the inauthentic works, amid the flood of publications. This mixture – of the genuine and the fake – contributed to the emergence of Paracelsus' legendary image as the patron of alchemy and occult philosophy.